NEW YORK HERALD.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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AMUSEMENTS THIS EVENING.

NIBLO'S GARDEN, Broadway.-Ros Rov.

WINTER GARDEN, Broadway, opposite Bond street. BOWERY THEATRE, Bowery.-Tippoo Sain, OR THE

WALLACK'S THEATRE, Broadway.-THE LADY OF ST. LAURA REENE'S THEATRE, No. 624 Broadway.

NEW BOWERY THEATRE, Bowery.-Linda-Magic THEATRE FRANCAIS, 586 Broadway. - Le GENDRE DE MR. POURER-LE LAST D'ANESSE.

BARNUM'S AMERICAN MUSEUM, Broadway. - Day and Evening-Joseph and His Bastunen-Laving Cumosi-

BRYANTS' MINSTRELS, Mechanica' Hall, 472 Broad HOOLEY & CAMPBELL'S MINSTRELS, Niblo's Saloon trondway.—Ethioptan Songs, Dances, Burlesques, &c.—Pernohem and His Monkey.

CANTERBURY MUSIC HALL, 663 Broadway. - Songs ODD FELLOW'S HALL, Hoboken.-Budworth & Camp

New York, Tuesday, January 22, 1861.

MAILS FOR EUROPE, The New York Herald - Edition for

Europe. The Cunard mail steamship America, Capt. M.Caulay will leave Boston on Wednesday for Liverpool.

The mails for Europe will close in this city this afternoon, at a quarter past one and at half-past five e'clock, to go by railroad.

THE EUROPEAN EDITION OF THE HERALD Will be published at eleven o'clock in the morning. Single copies, in wrap pers, six cents.

The contents of the EUROPEAN EDITION OF THE HERALI will combine the news received by mail and telegraph at the office during the previous week, and up to the bour of publication.

The News.

The excitement occasioned by the anticipated attack of the Florida troops upon Fort Pickens, at Pensacola, has subsided. It is now stated that Major Chase, the commander of the State forces, has telegraphed to Southern members of Congress that he will not attack the fort, or obstruct the passage of vessels going in and out of the port. unless the fort opens fire upon him. All that the secessionists desire now is that the status quo shall be observed strictly during the brief inter val that the present administration remains in

Last evening, in consequence of information received at the Brooklyn Navy Yard of the intention of a mob from New York to make an attack on the North Carolina and the yard, one hundred marines were placed under arms to give them a warm reception should they make the attack. The police force was augmented, and posted where they could act in case of emergency, and the Fifth brigade of militia, under the com of Brigadier General Crooker, assembled at the Henry street armory and the arsenal to support the marines, if necessary. No attack was made. however.

The proceedings of Congress yesterday were highly important. At the opening of the session of the Senate Mr. Hunter, who has been Chairman of the Committee of Finance for fifteen years, reported the Indian Appropriation bill, and said that as it was evident the party in the Senate would soon be changed, he desired to be excused from further service on said committee. The request was granted. Mr. Slidell offered resolutions censuring the President for appointing Mr. Holt Secretary of War ad interim. The subject was laid over. Messrs. Yulee and Mallory, of Florida, then announced their withdraws from the Senate, their State having seceded from the Union. They were followed by Messrs. Clay and Fitzpatrick, of Alabama and Mr. Davis, of Mississippi. The valedictories of these gentlemen were very pathetic, and drew tears from Senators and spectators. When the seceding Sentors had withdrawn from the Chamber. the House bill admitting Kansas was taken up. amended and passed by a vote of thirty-six to sixteen. There are doubts about the House concurring in the amendment. At any rate, it is not likely that the bill will be reached in the House for a couple of weeks. The Crittenden adjustment was then taken up, and in the course of the discussion upon it, Mr. Cameron stated his willingness to vote for Mr. Bigler's plan of settle-

In the House the reports of the Committee of Thirty-three were taken up, and the chairman of the committee, Mr. Corwin, and Mr. Millson, of Virginia, made speeches on the distracted condition of the country. The remarks of both gentle-

men were of a pacificatory character.

The Post Office at Pensacola was abolished yesterday, the mail service discontinued, and the postmasters throughout the country directed by the Post Office Department to send all letters addressed to Pensacola to the Dead Letter Office. This course is a consequence of the interception of the mails by the Florida authorities.

Mr. Douglas has prepared amendments to the onstitution, which he will propose as soon as opportunity offers. They may be found among our telegraphic despatches from Washington. The proceedings of the Albany Legislature yes-

terday were not of special interest. In the House the report of the Committee on Federal Rela tions was made the special order for to-day. The Military Committee reported to the House the bill for the immediate enrolment of the militia of the State. The report of the Central Park Investigating Committee will be made to the Senate to-day. Their report will exculpate the Commissioners of all the charges made, and sustain their course generally. They

of tales report in favor of changing the number The Board Gan to six.

when a resolution was adopt met last evening. Inspector to send to the Board a list was the City residences and positions of all the employes mw. department; the amount of salary paid each; the names of the persons on whose recommendation each was appointed, and whether any of the employes hold positions under the municipal, State or federal governments; and also what sincere places there are in his department that can be dis sensed with; also requesting the Comptroller to state what action he has taken in reference to the settlement of the West Washington market pro perty. Mr. Stevenson offered a series of resolu tions (by reason of a current report that a number of men hold office under the city government and receive salaries for doing nothing), in which the

the Common Council the name and residence of each employe, by whom appointed, and the nature of his duties. They were adopted. The President (Morgan Jones, Esq.) submitted a series of resolutions based upon a communication in the Tribune, signed by Thomas Picton, charging ex-Alderman Peck, and a Councilman of 1860, with malfeasance in office, and also affirming that members of the city government violate the charter in being interested in supplies. A committee of three (provided the Aldermen concur) was appointed to inquire and report if any person connected with the city government is interested in the sale of any article to be paid for out of the city treasury. The committee were empowered to send for persons and papers. The President announced some special committees on resolutions adopted at the last meeting of the Board, after which they adjourned till Thursday.

The Board of Aldermen met yesterday afteroon, but had to adjourn, there not being a quorum present. They will meet again on Thursday

The Board of Police Commissioners held quite a lengthy meeting yesterday, and appointed about forty men. Sergeant Alters was transferred from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth precinct, Sergeant Carney from the Twentieth to the Fifteenth, and Sergeant Mathews from the Third to the Fourteenth. James Kelsey was appointed patrolman and detailed as clerk at the Central office. The following men, appointed on Friday last were sworn in:—Jeremiah Petty, Captain; William W. Boulds, Ed. Brewster, Ed. Burke, John McColough, Peter Rice and Joseph Hodson, patrolmen.

The Rev. Peter Cartwright, seventy-five years old, of direct Revolutionary descent, and one of the pioneer Methodist preachers of the Far West, delivered an interesting lecture last evening at Clinton Hall. He was most enthusiastically received. The reverend gentleman declared himself to be body and soul for the Union. We give a sketch of his remarks in another column.

The court martial of Colonel Corcoran was continued last evening, at the Division Armory, in the presence of a large number of spectators. Captain Van Buren and Major Taylor were placed upon the witness stand, but their testimony elicit ed nothing new. General Hall was examined and his evidence went to show the custom of military parades on occasions of public interest. In reply to a question from the accused, whether he (the witness) had promulgated the orders for the parade of his brigade on the 11th of October last, he declined to answer, on the ground that he might possibly criminate himself. The defence objected, as previously, to the introduction of any testimony in regard to custom, but the objection was overruled. Major General Kiersted was also examined, but his testimony was mainly corroborative of that of General Hall. The court martial adjourned until to-morrow (Wednesday)

The excitement at the Central Park skating pond was up to a high point both yesterday and last night. A very large crowd of really respectable persons were present on both occasions. The pect for to-day appeared last night, What would New York do without the Central Park and the ice

According to the City Inspector's report, there were 414 deaths in this city during the past week, decrease of 11 as compared with the mortality of the week previous, and 102 less than occurred during the corresponding week last year. The re-capitulation table gives 1 death of disease of the bones, joints, &c.; 87 of the brain and nerves 11 of the heart and blood vessels, 151 of the lungs, throat, &c.; 6 of old age, 45 of diseases of the skin and eruptive fevers, 7 premature births, 59 of diseases of the stomach, bowels and other digestive organs; 43 of general fevers, and 4 of diseases of the urinary or which 14 were from violent cause The nativity table gives 286 natives of the United States, 76 of Ireland, 5 of England, 30 of Germany 3 of Scotland, and the balance of variou foreign countries.

The sales of cotton yesterday embraced about bales, closing without change of moment in prices. We quote middling uplands at about 12½c. a 12½c. Flour was less buoyant and closed heavy, with the turn of the market in favor of purchasers. Wheat was dull. The firmness in freights tended to check sales, which were noderate. Corn was easier, with fair sales at 70c. for Western mixed, in store and delivered. Pork was in a \$13, and new prime at \$13 75. Sugars were steady, with sales of about 600 a 700 bhds. Cuba muscovado, at rates given in another place. Coffee was in steady d with sales of 1,700 bags Rio, 150 do. St. Domingo, and 250 mate Java, at rates given in another column. Freights were firmer for English ports, with more offering. Corn and wheat were engaged for Liverpool at 10½d. a 11d. in bulk, and 11½d. in ship's bags.

The Revolution in the South-Its Progre

and Prospects.

The secession from the Senate of the United States yesterday of the members of that body from the three seceded States of Florida, Ala bama and Mississippi, viz:-Messrs. Mallory, Yulee, Fitzpatrick, Clay, Davis and Brown-was a strange, remarkable and startling incident in all its details. To render the melancholy spectacle still gloomier, there was the intimation that the Senators from the seceded State of Georgia were only awaiting the formality of a call to return home; and there, too, was the general impression that before the end of this Congress the members from Louisiana and Texas, and perhaps several other States, will be withdrawn

Since the famous South Carolina ordinance of independence of the 20th of December last, this work of secession in "the cotton States." like a resistless tide, has carried and is carrying everything before it. Within less than a month State Conventions have been elected and have met, and have acted, in behalf of Florida, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, and each of those States to-day, in the estimation of its people, stands, like South Carolina, in the attitude of an independent republic, absolved from all further allegiance to the general government of the United States. By the 4th of March it is expected Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas will be added to this list of independent nationalities, and there are some Southern enthusiasts who believe in, and aspire to accomplish, the secession of all the Southern States from the Union in advance of, or very soon after, the day which will place the repub lican party in power at Washington.

Meantime the local authorities of the five seceded cotton States are making arrangements for a general Convention at Atlanta. Georgia, or Montgomery, Alabama, or some other convenient place, in order to initiate the general government of a Southern confederacy. At the same time the border slave States, and also North Carolina, Tennessee and Arsomewhaf, the second tier, are proceeding some delaying aly, in this disunion business others providing sufficient cmyhatsoever, and o enable them to go either to the rhalances the left, either with the Northern States in the Union or with the Southern States out of the Union, according to the pressure of forthcoming events at Washington. But when we ome to consider the fact that there are two Southern parties involved in these secession movements - the party of positive, final and abhead of each department is instructed to send to solute separation from the North, and the party New

whose policy is the reorganization of the federal government upon new constitutional guarantees of protection to slavery-it is probable that all the border slave States, and those adjoining them, may decide upon going out of the Union and into the councils of a Southern confederacy, in order to guide its policy and proceedings in favor of a reconstruction of the

In other words, if the States of Delaware Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas secede and join in a Southern confederacy, it will be, we understand, for the double object of exacting satisfactory terms of a reunion with the North on the one hand, and of leading back the cotton States into the Union, should satisfactory concessions to the peculiar institution of the South be obtained from the anti-slavery North. We believe that the Southern party of uncompromis ing and final separation from the North would upon a fair test, be found representing a de cided minority of the popular vote in every Southern State excepting South Carolina. We believe, too, that a submission to the people of the North of the Crittenden compromise, as measure for Union and peace, would result in the approval of said compromise by every Northern State, excepting, perhaps, Massachusetts. Within the brief Limits of a single day the whole of this sectional revolutionary im broglio could and would be settled peaceably and for the Union by the American people, i only some such adjustment as that of Mr. Crit tenden were submitted to the popular judgment of every State.

But while the great body of the people, North and South, are sound and patriotic, devoted to the Union, and proud of its strength, glory and prosperity, our reckless sectional politicians who have brought all these revolutionary trou bles upon us, are still resolved to push forward their schemes, even, if it must be so, to the extremity of civil war. Thus the Southern secession radicals of the school of Rhett, Yancey and Senators Iverson and Wigfall tell us that the day of compromises is past that the South has cut the bonds of this Union forever, and that a Southern independent and homogeneous confederacy will soon arise "which will be the most suc cessful government on earth." On the other side, such republican radicals as Senators Hale Wade and Trumbull tell us they have no compromises to make, while our republican news paper organs almost unanimously declare that the slavery question has been settled in the late Presidential election, and that the first duty of the party and of Mr. Lincoln's administration will be the maintenance of the Union through the enforcement of the constitutional powers and rights of the federal government utterly regardless of all Southern ordinance and other acts of State sovereignty and inde-

It is as clear as the noonday sun that, in default of any conciliatory measures on the part of Congress, the duty of President Lincoln will be limited to the execution of the federal laws as they now stand, embracing the collection of the federal revenues and the recovery of the federal property, such as forts, arsenals, &c., seized by the local authorities of several Southern States. Exercising the sagacious and gene rous forbearance of Mr. Buchanan, war may still be avoided by Mr. Lincoln; but we have only one voice from the republican oracles at Spring field and at Washington on this subject, which that at all hazards the laws will be enforced It is possible, therefore, unless some entering wedge of a compromise shall be secured during the brief remnant of vitality remaining to this Congress, that its last day, and the last day of the outgoing administration, will be the last day of all our hopes of a restoration of the Union, and the first day of a calamitous civil ral Scott says four, with his methodical military view of the subject; but why not ten or twenty, each with its petty military despot elected annually by the bayonet?

The power and the responsibility belong to the republican party. They can make peace. They can restore the Union. Both houses of Congress are practically now under their control. They have only to abandon a paltry party abstraction or two, and the good work is done. The Crittenden compromise will open the way to peace and reunion, if submitted at once to the people. In default of some such measure of encouragement to Southern Union men, they will be borne down by the disunion pressure, which is upon them even in the border slave States, and the only choice to the incoming administration may thus be a disastrous civil war to all concerned, or an extra session of Congress to provide for the recognition of an independent Southern confederacy.

EXTRAORDINARY COMMERCIAL EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION UPON NEW YORK.—The political revolution now going forward at the South is resulting in a commercial revolution different in its effects from any that has ever preceded it. By the action of the secession States the usual channels of trade have been choked up in the Southern seaboard, and the result is that the commerce is diverted to the city of New York from the interior by the railroads, which

are now doing a thriving business. The harvest never was so abundant, and th prosperity of the country never rose to so high pitch, as during the last year. The demand for its breadstuffs in Europe is unusually great. Money is pouring into New York from abroad. Ten millions of dollars have arrived within a very short time, and capital is daily accumulating here in an unprecedented manner. It cannot long remain inactive when there are products in the interior for sale. Those who want to sell will find purchasers in New York, and trade will

become unusually brisk. Thus, though there may be very little personal communication between the citizens of the seceding States and the North, there will be a flourishing commercial intercourse, and its great centre will be the city of New York. The revolutionary condition of the South is driving the trade to this market, while it is impoverishing the Southern ports in the same proportion. From this cause, and from the extraordinary abundance of the crops in the West, and the extraordinary demand for them in England, a great commercial revival is taking place here, and an amount of business who soon be done which will astonish those they were helicting a deadly blow upon the free city of America ... which will ever be the political, but in a commercial account the entrepol of the trade of the Old World has the

Thurlow Weed's Disavowal of Helper's

Under the date December 7, 1859, it appear that the sagacious editor of the Albany Evening Journal addressed a letter " to a distinguished gentleman in Washington." in which he couples the acknowledgment of having subscribed one hundred dollars "to aid in publishing a large edition of Mr. Helper's Compend," in orde "to assist in forming public sentiment upon the relative value and effect of free and slave labor," with a very humble peccavi, palliated by an "if" painfully characteristic of the school to which he belongs. "Had I known," he says, " that this compend would counsel s severance of the business, social and religious relations existing between slaveholding and non-slaveholding citizens, or that the book itself invites or countenances servile insurrec tion, I certainly should have withheld both my approval and my money, for my opposition to slavery rejects all such teachings." After s lapse of thirteen months the objections of Mr. Weed to the publication of his letter have dis appeared, and it is laid before the public. Meagwhile the Presidential campaign has been carried on, and, thanks to this very work of Mr. Helper, and kindred speeches and documents, Mr. Abraham Lincoln has been elected to the chief magistracy of the country. What pity that this disavowal of the most incendiary doctrines that ever were promulgated in America was not permitted to have its full effect six months ago!

We have no reason to doubt the sincerity of the many republicans who, now that fanaticism has triumphed and a widespread revolt in the Southern States threatens to dissolve the Union and engulf our national prosperity, shrink from the consequences of the means they have employed to bring about so deplorable a result. But how huge, colossal and infernal in dimensions must have been the hypocrisy of the Sewards, Weeds and others, who silently permitted the very vitals of the country to be corroded by a poison, the fatal tendency of which they understood, and were prepared, at a convenient season, to repudiate. For two whole years previous to the 5th of Novembe last the cities, towns, villages and hamlets of every Northern State were infested by republican speakers, of whom nineteen-twentleths promulgated the rankest and most ultra abolition incendiarism. Slavery was described as the sum of villanies, the worst of crimes, the unpardonable sin of the nation, crying perpetually to Heaven for vengeance, and sure to bring down temporal disaster and eternal wrath upon all who tolerated it. The Canaanites were not depicted in blacker colors by Moses than owners of human beings were by the wide-mouthed blatants who, from Maine to California and from Pennsylvania to Oregon roamed restlessly through the land, honey

combing every square mile of it with treason. Mr. Weed tells his "distinguished friend in Washington" that he "never cherished a feeling or uttered a sentiment intended to affect inju riously the property, the rights or the safety of the citizens of the slaveholding States.' "Northern men." he continues. "who invade Southern State, either to run off slaves or excite insurrection, deserve the punishment they receive." Yet, upon the receipt of the news of the John Brown invasion, two months prior to the composition of his letter, the Albany Evening Journal declared that "such outbreaks were inevitable," adding, "if a man builds his house over a volcano, it is not those who warn him of his danger that are to blame for its eruptions." Political partisanship was all tinged with crimson foreshadowings at that period.

"The slave system," said Mr. Seward, at Ro chester. "is intolerant, unjust and inhuman towards the laborer, whom it loads down with chains and converts into merchandise. It is a system of constant danger, distrust, suspicion and watchfulness. It debases the owner to th lowest degree of which human nature is capable to guard against mutiny and insurrection The two systems of slave and free labor are incongruous; they are more than incongruousthey are incompatible. So incompatible are they that every new State makes its first political act the choice of the one and the exclusion of the other, even at the cost of civil war if necessary. They are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results. Shall tell you what this collision means? It s an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will. sooner or later, become entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free labor nation." Carefully examine the signification of those portentous sentences. The Helper book is but their paraphrase. The principles they enunciate are the same, and if the language is different the sense is identical. It was the key note of republican electioneering from the beginning of 1858 until the end of

A portion of the republican press have falsely attributed the notoriety which was obtained by Helper's book to the notice which was taken of it by the conservative journals of the North. No charge could he more untrue or unfounded. If the grave and serious warnings which were uttered by the HERALD and other papers to the fanatics who distributed it from their depots in Wall and Nassau streets had been properly beeded, the dark clouds pregnant with tempest which darken the hor con, would never have obscured our political horizon. Week after week, and month after month, express loads of the vile production were forwarded into every nook and locality of the Union, disseminating views which soon became deeply rooted in the rural districts, and against which the anti-constitutional news papers did not pretend to utter a protest. The belligerent, Fourierite non-resistants of the Tribune, while affecting to deprecate "insurrection, civil war and bloodshed," and de claring that such means of "universal emancipation" were "fatally wrong," could, neverthe less, say with regard to the criminals who were executed at Harper's Ferry: -"We will not by one reproachful word disturb the bloods shrouds wherein John Brown and his compa triots are sleeping. They dared and died for what they felt to be right. Let their epitaph remain unwritten until the not distant day when no slave shall clank his chains in the shades of Monticello or by the graves of Mount Vernon." This was the staple of treason in the mass of republican utterance and writing preparatory to the late election for President Those who would have prevented it performed a duty which the North is beginning too late to appreciate.

What a Beelzebub grimace there is in the shiverings of those who now begin to duck and eringe before the first blasts of the storm which yet unborn.

they themselves have conjured into fury. In by the auspices they condema will hold in its hands the responsibility of the future. As yet it has given no sign, save in the ambiguities of Mr. Seward's late speech, what line of policy it will adopt. It has exhibited no unmistakeable symptoms, excepting those of fear. It has not risen to the dignity of statesmanship, nor shown any sincere desire for a settlement, upon a broad, constitutional basis, of the difficulties by which the nation is convulsed. Its whole aspec is pitiable. Nevertheless, it will soon hold weal and woe, good and evil, the perpetuation of the integrity of the confederation or its dismemberment, in its own hands. The happiness of thirty-one millions of people will hang upon the decisions it may adopt. Under such circumstances the slightest admissions are to be hailed as omens of good, and small instalments of greater concessions, and we must content ourselves with the vague promise held out to the country that, "whatever sacrifice, private or public, shall be needful for the preservation of the Union, shall be made." It will be mournful indeed if those who have contributed so largely towards the ruin of the republic shall perpetuate, in their ascendancy, their efforts for its destruction. South Carolina has ceased to be solitary in its insurrectionary position. The United States Senate is no longer a Senate of the whole of the States. The seats once occupled by the representatives from Alabama, Mississippi and Florida are vacant. In the House of Representatives numbers are growing daily less, and the gravity of the crisis cannot be exaggerated. A republican government has now to decide whether the brightest political monument which has ever been erected by freemen shall perish forever, and its light be extinguished in darkness, or whether, by a timely display of magnanimity, the Union shall be restored to its wonted grandeur and prosperity.

The Position of Virginia in the Crisis. The course of the powerful State of Virginia whose action has always exerted so great an influence upon the confederacy at critical periods in its history, is now watched by the whole country with more than ordinary interest. It is evident she will not secede, but that, under the lead of her conservative Governor, Mr. Letcher, she is rising above the wild vagaries of her philosophers and fire-eatersthe Wises, the Pryors, the Hunters, the Masons, et hoc genus omne-whose pilotage would soon dash her upon the rocks. Five States have already seceded; three more

will soon follow; and by the 4th of March there will be probably ten States out of the Union. Even Georgia is tied to the tail of the South Carolina kite; the Senators from Alabama, Mississippi and Florida withdrew formally yesterday from the United States Senate, taking their final adieu amidst tears and the most affecting scene. But while the cotton States are going out, other States are coming in. Kansas is to be immediately admitted, Mr. Green, of Missouri, having stated in his place that there is no use in resisting her admission any longer. The Senate is abandoned to the republicans, and our national affairs are coming rapidly to a crisis. But in the midst of present disaster and gloomy apprehensions of the future the Old Dominion lifts her head above the storm. She appears in the scene as a mediator, and her action will arrest the progress of secession and cause her Southern sisters of the border to pause before

they follow the cotton States into revolution. The effect of the example of Virginia upon Kentucky, Missouri, and perhaps Tennessee, will be decisive, and there is no other State in the Union has the same .influence for good, or as much right to be heard in this controversy. In the Revolution she was the leading Stateher citizens drew up the Declaration of Independence, led the army of independence, and constructed the constitution. When Massachusetts and other Northern States threatened to revolt. Virginia ceded her rich and vast domain as a sacrifice to the Union, and the ingrate States of the Northwest carved out of this Territory now deny the sacred rights of the mother State. In the nullification controversy in 1832, when South Carolina was as revolutionary and rebellious as the Southern States to-day, Virginia healed the breach. Her statesmen restored the equilibrium of the Union in 1820, and in the crisis of 1850 it was Virginia who so strongly aided in saving the confederacy. Still conservative, it is her noble part in this, the greatest danger the country has yet seen, to prevent a bloody collision, to meet the other States in Convention at Washington on the 4th of February, in order that there and then they may calmly deliberate upon such proposed amendments to the constitution as may restore peace and harmony once more. There will thus be time given for deliberation

before the irrevocable step of separation is taken by the border slave States, and time for the North to come forward with measures of conciliation and justice, if it ever means to do o. The representatives of the Southern States having agreed upon the basis of reconciliation proposed by Virginia as their ultimatum, if the North will not accept it, then there is an end of the controversy, and Virginia and all the border slave States will unite with the cotton States in a Southern confederacy far too strong to be brought back by force of arms. But it is to be hoped that her wise counsels will prevail, as in days of yore, and that she will at least meet with co-operation on the part of the border free States-Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania. New Jersey and New York-which would practically settle the question. If these States give their adhesion to the terms offered by Virginia on the part of the South, it is of little consequence what New England and the extreme Northwest may do in the premises.

We trust, therefore, that the olive branch held out to the North by the Old Dominion will be received in a generous, fraternal spirit by the border free States, and that they will send commissioners to Washington to meet those of Virginia and of the other slave States on the 4th of next month. Thus some satisfactory settlement may be adopted, either for the reconstruction of the Union on a firm foundation, or for the peaceable separation of the slaveholding from the Northern States, instead of precipitating the whole country into civil war, outstripping all that ever preceded it in atrocity. Virginia has a grand role to play in the revolutionary drama, whose denouement involves the fate of this continent, and will influence the destiny of generations of Europeans

THE APPROACHING STATE ELECTIONS IN NEW ENGLAM -THEIR IMPORTANCE AS A TEST OF THE EBB OR FLOW OF REVOLUTION. The coming State electia ns in the North will, in effect, decide the fate of the country for weal or woe. Congress has faltered and failed in its duty, and the question will have to go to the people in some shape or other. The first elections held may therefore be regarded as highly important, as they will set an example and give a one to the other States in the North. As the first State elections are to be held in

New Hampshire on the 12th of March, in Connecticut on the 1st of April, and in Rhode Island April 3, those events will become criterions by which we may anticipate the judgment to be passed by all the New England States and the people of the North. They will be tests of the ebb or continued flow of the tide of revolution, and after the results are determined in these States we shall then know where we stand. If the people in those three States reject the absurdities of the Chicago platform, and decide in favor of the constitution and the legitimate rights of the South other States will follow their example, and the Union max be resoued from destruction in the very moment of its apparent dissolution; or even after the secession of all the slave States, the returning sober second thought of the North may accomplish a reunion upon a broader and securer basis then even the present constitution. But if these three New England States should not rise above the level of party to the height of the great argument presented by the facts of the crisis, but sustain the Chicago platform, they will only fusnish a new illustration of the political maxim that "party is the madness of many for the gain of a few," and the final dissolution of the confederacy, and perhaps, civil war of the most ruinous and disas trous kind, may be anticipated as the inevitable consequences.

It behooves the friends of the Union, there-

fore, in New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island to exert themselves with their utmost energies between the present time and the elections, and to leave no stone unturned to secure a favorable result. The friends of the Union in other Northern States ought to assist either by their influence and personal efforts in the campaign or by sending contributions of money as the sinews of a political contest which may decide the destiny of the country. For let all rest assured that, unless there is a speedy retrograde revolution at the polls in the Northern States, the revolution at the South will go forward to its consummation, and instead of one mighty confederacy we shall have two or three, or it may be four, petty governments, with divided, if not clashing interests, and in eternal danger of border wars and mutual extermination, in which they will be aided most effectually by the intervention of the great Powers of Europe.

THE SOUTHERN FORTS AND ARSENALS-DUTY OF THE EXECUTIVE.—It was certainly a very great error on the part of the President to permit the seizure of the fortifications and arsenals in the Southern cities. There was, however, some excuse for this course to be found in the fact that several members of the Cabinet sympathized with the secessionists, and gave them information as to the probable movements of the President, and, without doubt, influenced him as to the course which the government should pursue. The outside pressure upon Mr. Buchanan has been very great, and therefore his vacillation may be readily accounted for-But now there is no excuse for any hesitation in maintaining the power of the government, and in vindicating the supremacy of the laws. The Cabinet has been reconstructed, and the members thereof are united. The withdrawal of the Senators from Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia ren the last obstacle in the path of the President and his constitutional advisers. In a very short time the Senators from Georgia will retire, and Kansas will be admitted. Then there will be a clear majority in the Senate in favor of supporting the President in any measures which may be agreed upon for the support of the dignity of the republic. As a matter of course, there is a wide difference of opinion upon the question as to the policy of the federal governnent with regard to the seceding States; but there can be no doubt about the matter of the public property. The seceding States have no right to hold the forts and arsenals, which are the property of the United States, and the President should demand their immediate restoration. We presume that it is very clearly settled that no steps will be taken to place war garrisons in these forts; but in any case they should be given up to their rightful custodians, the officers of the United States army It is Mr. Buchanan's bounden duty to hand over the federal property, intact, to his successor, and he should use every effort to do so. If the difficulty between the North and the South is to be amicably settled, as we hope and trust it may be, the rendition of the forts would in no way embarrass conciliatory negotiations. On the contrary, it would materially facilitate their progress. In any event, the Executive should use all prudent and proper means to reclaim the federal property, which has been seized without any color of right or legal authority whatsoever.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON SECESSION-THE RADI-CAL ABOLITIONISTS AND THE SECESSIONISES JOINing Hands.—We have very frequently pointed out to the people of the South the very striking similarity between the results aimed at by the followers of Garrison and Rhett. Wendell Phillips, in an address delivered at Boston on Sunday last, gives us another proof that our argument was a sound one. Mr. Phillips is delighted at the prospect of disunion, believing hat the Southern States, when left to themselves, will be powerless to resist John Brown raids, that servile insurrections will break out all over the slave States, and that the negroes will free themselves by killing their masters. He is opposed to the idea of making any sacrifices for the Union. Quite the contrary. He is in avor of paying the Gulf States to go out, and finally he hails disunion as the great panacea for the chief evil of our body politic -the institution of slavery.

Mr. Phillips and his followers will undon bledly be highly gratified to find that the Senators from Alabama. Mississippi and Florida have left their seats in the Senate Chamber; that Georgia is virtually out of the Union, and that several Southern States will follow, while poor half-starved Kansas comes shivering in, and the fire-capers in South Carolina will be as inbilant as the fanatics of New England. The rabid secersionists believe that they can keep their places by going out, and they favor the re-